Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XXV.—No. 271. NOVEMBER, 1911. MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Postal Workers and the Government.

We are pleased to notice that the men in the postal service are determined that their grievances shall receive some respectful attention from the Government officials. Big meetings of all grades have been held in various towns, and a deputation has waited upon Mr. Herbert Samuel, who did not hesitate to threaten the workers with dire penalties if they dared to make use of the principle of "freedom of contract," which middle-class economists and Liberal politicians have for many years past so glibly and loudly declared was one of the basic principles of the present economic system, and which, they also contended, rendered it equitable. The rise in the prices of food and other commodities, besides increase in rent, has largely reduced the purchasing power of their wages. Also they suffer many evils due to the bureaucratic system of the department. They claim some amelioration of their position in both respects from this profitable State business. We earnestly trust they will persevere in their demands. "Nationalisation" in this instance ought to make workers and Socialists generally reflect whether Communism and free organisation of workers for managing purposes is not preferable both as regards efficiency and social advantage when compared to the "red-tape" tyranny of the State.

Railwaymen and Railway Companies.

At the annual conference of the A.S.R.S. at Carlisle, Mr. J. Thomas, M.P., said that to-day there were nearly 6,000 fewer enginemen and firemen than there were ten years ago, and they had to handle millions of tons more traffic and carry millions more passengers. These facts showed the disastrous effect of the amalgamation of the lines upon promotion and the general interests of railwaymen. The 100,000 railway workers who receive 20s. or less per week for risking and losing life and limb will be delighted to read the following:—Mr. T. P. Clarke (Dublin) said that in Ireland they had two or three boards of directors controlling railways not in existence, and they had an instance of directors drawing £17,000 a year for looking after a railway seven miles in length, which possessed neither a carriage nor a wagon. Would it not be more advantageous to the people of Great Britain and Ireland for communities of workers to replace companies of exploiters?

The Railway Commission and After.

The Committee of Inquiry has issued its report, which fully bears out the forecast given in last month's *Freedom*. Naturally the railwaymen are dissatisfied, especially considering the widespread victimisation resorted to by the railway companies since the men returned to work. The capitalist Press has in advance duly charged the men with being guilty of bad faith, in spite of Mr. Lloyd George's explicit declaration in the House of Commons on August 17th that "the men, if not satisfied with the recommendations—and they are not bound by the recommendations—can still fall back upon the powerful weapons in their hands." The Committee make no suggestions as to adequate representation of the men's grievances in the manner which they desire. They recommend nothing to lessen the overwork and strain borne by the men; nothing as to raising wages to a minimum of comfort, which it is absolutely necessary under present conditions to maintain if thousands of workers are to perform their duties efficiently. Nor is any proposition made to safeguard the men against petty tyranny or victimisation. All these and other essentials requiring immediate treatment are ignored. We fear that the workers are too easily "conciliated," and are too modest in their demands when they take action. Anyhow, they are learning not merely the value of solidarity, but also that they must assume the control of their own industry on the basis of common ownership if a remedy for all these evils is to be secured.

The Industrial Council.

The "feeler" represented by Will Crooks's Compulsory Arbitration Bill having brought forth evidence that a very big industrial fight would take place if such a proposal became law, we have now the institution of a National Council to which either side in a strike or lock-out may appeal, and secure a truce while an inquiry into the dispute takes place. The Council possesses no compulsory powers. The idea of an unbiassed body of men adjudicating upon the merits of a dispute between Labour and Capital is very plausible; but experience of such methods, and knowledge of the facts of the Labour war, do not lead us to expect any good results to the working class from the labours of this body. Thus, in Lancashire a similar arrangement secured decreases in wages on the score of depressed trade and high prices for raw cotton; but a period of enormous prosperity brought no rise in wages to the workers. The same thing occurred to the coalminers. "Sliding scales," fixed by "boards," worked out in the same fashion. It is "Heads I win, and tails you lose" on the capitalist side all the time. Moreover, delays are dangerous to the Labour side in a dispute. Delay means the prospect of disunion, which is fatal, and gives the employers time to prepare to break the strike, thus robbing the workers of any advantage gained by sudden action. The Trade Unions will be well advised to be chary as to how far they allow themselves to be bound by this Industrial Council, or they will even endanger their own existence. After all, in the absence of a revolutionary union of all workers, they are the only means of organised defence the working classes possess.

Government Bomb Outrages.

The war between Italy and Turkey illustrates to a nicety the hyprocrisy of the Press and the capitalist class. True it is an unpopular war, because, although it has been "worked up" by the Press in Italy, and the silly patriots there are seething with ill-feeling against the Turks and are very "proud of their Navy," the rest of Europe has been neglected in respect of "Turkish atrocities" of late, and the action of the Italian Government has appeared in its true colours as one of the most abominable outrages in history. But Anarchists must not miss this opportunity of pointing to the fact that bombs are being thrown about in hundreds by the paid servants of a capitalist Government. On October 6th, it is stated, bomb-throwing by Italians in the Adriatic Sea resulted in the loss of 300 lives. The commander of the Italian cruiser notified the Turkish authorities at Port Said that he would by his bomb mechanism sink the Turkish transports containing several thousand men if they dared to attempt to convey them from one portion of Turkish territory to another. All Governments are prepared to perform this horrible work—and in cold blood. Who are "the enemies of society"?

AN INTERNATIONAL MEETING

To Commemorate the Judicial Murder of the

CHICAGO MARTYRS

Will be held at

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE,

SOUTH PLACE, MOORGATE STREET, FINSBURY, E.C.,

On MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, at 8 p.m.

Speakers—E. MALATESTA, H. J. JAXON, R. ROCKER, MRS. BAKER, G. A. ALDRED, L. WITHINGTON, J. TOCHATTI, W. PONDER.

Admission Free. Doors Open at 7.30.

MARTYRS OF LABOUR AND ANARCHISM.

Anarchism has its roll of martyrs in all lands whatever the form of government, from autocracy to democracy. Everywhere the possessing classes and their servants, the forces of violence, instinctively recognise that Anarchist Communism is the most potent and dangerous of all movements to the existence of their infamous system of tyranny and robbery. Most prominent in the history of modern political and social persecution is the conduct of the capitalists and their corrupt police forces in the United States of America, where every consideration of human life and happiness has been subordinated to the pursuit of the "almighty dollar." The month of November reminds us of the infamy of Chicago in 1887. It has had its aftermath in the Moyer-Haywood trial, where a vile creature was hired to swear away the lives of Labour men, happily unsuccessfully; and now in the case of the McNamara brothers, where a similar atrocity is being attempted. But the methods of tyranny have always been similar to these.

In the prison of Chicago, Illinois, on the 11th of November, 1887, four Anarchists were murdered in cold blood for the "crime" of being Anarchists and having taught the propertyless workers to combine to secure economic emancipation. Louis Lingg died in his cell; Parsons, Spies, Engel, and Fischer were strangled to death on the scaffold. They had not committed murder; they had no part in any preparation for such an action. The counsel for the prosecution at the trial abandoned all pretence of supporting either of those charges, and declared that "Anarchy is on trial." And a prejudiced judge and jury, bribed by the Chicago capitalists, condemned them to death upon the unprecedented excuse that they had "by speech and writing" caused some one *unknown* to resist the attack of two hundred men, armed with loaded revolvers, upon a peaceable meeting, which had been called to protest against the shooting down of men, women, and children who were out on strike.

The Mayor of Chicago (C. H. Harrison) and Police-Inspector Bondfield, who were present, both testified to the peaceable character of the meeting, at which some of the men on trial were not even present. Add to this the fact that in 1893 J. P. Altgeld, the Governor of the State of Illinois, not only liberated Fielden and Schwab, whose sentences of death were commuted to penal servitude for life, and Neebe, who had been sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment, but also issued a statement of reasons, showing that the men were innocent and that the whole prosecution was of the most scandalous character. A perusal of the famous speeches of our martyrs at the conclusion of their trial is necessary to understand the situation at that time, and to know by what abominable means their death and imprisonment were secured.

Their voices still speak to us to-day. We hear them now. August Spies:—"'Anarchism is on trial!' foams Mr. Grinnell. If that is the case, your honour, very well, you may sentence me, for I am an Anarchist. I believe....that the state of castes and classes—where one class dominates over and lives upon the labour of another class, and calls this order—yes, I believe that this barbaric form of social organisation, with its legalised plunder and murder, is doomed to die, and make room for a free society, voluntary association, or universal brotherhood. You may pronounce the sentence upon me, honourable judge, but let the world know that in A.D. 1886, in the State of Illinois, eight men were sentenced to death because they believed in a better future, because they had not lost their faith in the ultimate victory of liberty and justice."

Michael Schwab:—"Anarchy is a dream, but only in the present. It will be realised. Reason will grow in spite of all obstacles."

Oscar Neebe:—"I was for the reduction of the hours of labour, and the education of labouring men, and the re-establishment of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*—the Workingmen's Newspaper. There is no evidence to show that I was connected with the bomb-throwing or anything of that kind....Your honour, I am sorry I am not to be hung with the rest of the men."

Adolph Fischer:—"This verdict is a death-blow against free speech, free press, and free thought in this country; and the people will be conscious of it, too."

Louis Lingg:—"I despise you, I despise your order, your laws, your force-propped authority. Hang me for it!"

George Engel:—"All that I have to say in regard to my conviction is, that I was not at all surprised; for it has ever been that the men who have endeavoured to enlighten their fellow man have been thrown into prison or put to death. Of what does my crime consist? That I have laboured to bring about a system of society by which it is impossible for one to hoard millions.... while the great masses sink to degradation and misery."

Samuel Fielden:—"To-day, as the beautiful autumn sun kisses with balmy breeze the cheek of every free man, I stand here, never to bathe my head in its rays again. I have loved my fellow man as I have loved myself. I have hated trickery, dishonesty, and injustice. The nineteenth century commits the crime of killing its best friend. But, as I have said before, if it will do any good, I freely give myself up. I trust the time will come when there will be a better understanding, more intelligence; and above the mountains of iniquity, wrong, and corruption, I hope the sun of righteousness and truth and justice will come to bathe in its balmy light an emancipated world."

Albert Parsons:—"What is Anarchy—for which I am called upon to die?....Government is despotism; government is an organisation of oppression, and law, statute law, is its agent. Anarchy is anti-government, anti-rulers, anti-dictators, anti-bosses and drivers. Anarchy is the negation of force, the elimination of all authority in social affairs; it is the denial of the right of domination of one man over another. It is the diffusion of rights, of power, of duties, equally and freely among all the people."

Those who died went to their death calmly and proudly, confident that, as Spies said when the fatal moment was near, "their silence would be more powerful than speech." Assuredly, when the new Book of Martyrs is written, the story of the Chicago Martyrs will occupy a prominent place in its glorious pages.

AN OPEN LETTER TO A BRITISH SOCIALIST.

We all know that the advent to Parliament of the "Labour" Party brought many recruits to the Socialist ranks in this country and swelled the wave of Socialist enthusiasm. The "Labour" Party is now to all intents and purposes *in extremis*, with one foot in the grave and the other in the Ministerial lobby. You admit, I take it, that the failure of that party in the Commons has weakened the movement in the country to a corresponding degree. I do not deny that many of the recruits who joined during the "boom" period remain in the ranks. But there have been many defections. The number has grown with the increasing impotence of the "Labour" group in Parliament.

If you accept the dictum "Once a Socialist always a Socialist," these defections need cause no uneasiness. If, on the other hand, you regard that maxim as nothing more than a pious opinion—something akin to "that blessed word, Mesopotamia," let us say—you will feel less contented. I take it that you *are* less contented. You have noted, also, the marked decrease in Socialist enthusiasm of late—anti-armaments and thirty-bob-a-week campaigns notwithstanding. In a movement such as the Socialist movement is, or was, enthusiasm is of greater importance than mere numerical strength. The wave has subsided. So far as Socialist representation is concerned, "all is calm and"—dull. And we *did* hope that all would be "merry and bright," didn't we? We might have guessed that politics is a very, *very* serious business!

For five lean years Socialists have been fed on a diet of which the staple has been Dead Sea fruit. This is, I suspect, due to their having delegated certain of their leaders to bring down manna from Heaven—which is, one gathers, located somewhere in the office of an unscrupulous Welsh solicitor. Quite a considerable number of Socialists are dissatisfied with the diet. It might have been more nutritious had they insisted on doing their own catering, in the first place; instead of which they appointed forty inefficient cooks to draw up an unsatisfactory menu. The workers have got a bad attack of political dyspepsia in consequence.

The lesson has been a costly one. There seems no doubt about that. But how far it has been read aright is less certain. Undoubtedly, many earnest Socialists are of opinion that the *principle* of Socialist representation stands—like Scotland, but unlike certain Scotch "Labour" men—where it did. "We want a fresh set of men, a new batch of divinely ordained leaders!" is the cry, the assumption being that the failure of the "Labour" Party was due to the defects of its personnel. So the British Socialist Party is being formed, and you and your comrades are to tread once more the stony path which leads to Stagnation

Another path, requiring much pioneer work, but a straighter path, a path which will bring the workers many a day's march nearer to Freedom, was outlined at the Manchester conference the other day. But the conference chose the old path. To have done otherwise would have been to betray a deplorable lack of Political Sagacity, Plain Commonsense, and various other common things. But there is still time to pull up. Whilst you are considering the point you might do worse than remember that the great champions of the people's freedom in the past (I am *not* thinking of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Winston Churchill, or any other member of the band of political brothers) were notoriously lacking in Political Sagacity, Plain Commonsense, and all the rest of it. And they were never complimented on their "gentlemanly behaviour."

The policy of pouring new wine into old bottles is a futile one. The probabilities are distinctly against your British Socialist M.P.s doing any better than the discredited "Labour" group, assuming that they, too, are relied upon to obtain legislative manna for an emaciated proletariat. In the unlikely event of their remaining proof against the intangible, soul-destroying "atmosphere" of the Commons, they will be powerless against the Caucus, so far as genuine Socialist legislation is concerned.

It is well to note, also, that the action of the Caucus in allowing its puppets to vote themselves a beggarly pittance of £400 a year (whilst successfully frustrating the attempts of some of their constituents to wallow in the luxury of £1 a week) will not help the British Socialist Party to get its candidates elected to the House. Don't think it! The Caucus is too much in love with life to commit suicide.

Where, then, lies the solution of the problem with which you, as a member of the British Socialist Party, are faced? Not in the complete abandonment of political representation, I suppose? You are not prepared to go to that length—yet. You may be driven to it, in the end. I think you will. But it will be experience, not argument, that will teach you the futility of Parliamentary action.

Meantime, I would suggest that you subordinate your political operations, as a party, to your industrial activities. In other words, don't you think the British Socialists would be well advised to lay stress on the need for Direct Action?

You will be told, of course, by "Labour" M.P.s and would-be "Labour" M.P.s (the latter are far more plausible) that industrial action by means of the strike is costly, foolish, antiquated, barbarous. "The brutal method of industrial warfare," Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., termed it the other day. Direct Action is not gentlemanly. Let us admit it. But the fact remains that the workers—and the other parties to this "brutal warfare," the employers—refuse to act like gentlemen. They consider that the issues involved are too serious to be handled with kid gloves. They are right. I suggest to you that, given an efficient industrial organisation such as could be obtained by vigorous propaganda on behalf of Direct Action, the strike (whether actual or threatened) is likely to prove more effective and in the long run less costly—to the workers, that is—than five years of "gentlemanly" behaviour in the House of Commons.

The "Labour" tribunes will tell you, when it suits their purpose, that the tactics adopted by the workers of other countries are not reliable criteria, such tactics being governed by "peculiar local conditions." Despite their solemn warnings, let us glance for a moment at France, where the workers concentrate chiefly upon industrial action, whilst sending Socialist Deputies to the Chamber with "watching briefs."

The comparative poverty of the French Trade Unions has forced them to take more or less common action against the employing class. The *grève générale*, in lieu of the obsolete sectional strike, has been attempted more than once. Every attempt has brought the weapon nearer to perfection. (It is well to recognise this, since our "Labour" friends tell us that the weapon has failed.) So effective has Direct Action proved in France, that the capitalist and ex-Socialist politicians of the Republic have threatened to arrest the officials of the great Trade Unions in the event of another serious outbreak.

Mr. Asquith and his colleagues are not likely to order the arrest of the forty indomitable "Labour" M.P.s. Why? Because Parliamentary representation holds no terrors for the employing class. Their fright in 1906 was only temporary. The watchdogs of Labour have had their teeth drawn since then, and the extraction has been quite painless.

Depend upon it, Messrs. Mann and Tillett are far more dangerous outside the House than the whole "Labour" group inside. If we haven't realised that fact, the employing class have. Moreover, Direct Action can checkmate the master class not only upon the industrial field, but in the world of politics also. You can only govern in two ways—by force or by consent of the governed. The perfecting of industrial organisation and the education of the workers in the methods of Direct Action will, ere long, render government by force impossible. That leaves only one possible method of government, doesn't it?

The workers, when they reach that happy state, may come to the conclusion that instead of delegating others to govern them by their own consent, they might as well govern themselves and so save trouble and expense. But we needn't discuss that point just now.

The sectional strike is dying, and the sympathetic strike is succeeding it very rapidly. The general strike—the "impracticability" of which, for any other purpose than that of pacificism, has long been a theme with "Labour" politicians—is well within sight. With the "Labour" triumph of 1906, the workers turned a hopeful gaze towards Westminster and rested on their oars. They have now awakened to the fact that the vessel has become waterlogged, and have commenced baling vigorously, despite the pathetic appeals of their leaders for a little more peace and quietness. Later on, they will commence shifting the barnacles, and "Labour" M.P.'s will be "seven a penny"—at which price even their Liberal friends will refuse to buy! That is, roughly, the meaning of the present industrial unrest. What is the British Socialist Party going to do about it?

The general tendency towards Direct Action is so unmistakable that the "Labour" politicians have hastened to pat the workers on the back and tell them they are plucky fellows. "A leader is a man who sees where the crowd is going and rushes after them with whoops of joy." That is an American definition, but it seems to apply on this side of the Atlantic also. Of course, the "joy" is not always of the heartfelt variety. But no matter!

What you, as a member of the British Socialist Party, have to consider is: which path is the new party to tread? On the choice the future of the B.S.P. will depend. To preach "Peace and Parliament" is to court destruction. The workers have tried both. They are coming to see that the cry might easily be translated "Perks for Place-hunters."

The House of Commons, as the supporters of the "Labour" group have learned to their cost, is "the best club in Europe." Once they realise that the industrial field is the best battleground in the world, the workers need no longer wait, cap in hand, for scraps from the Westminster table. You and your comrades in the British Socialist Party have yet time to choose your ground. Which is it to be—the Club or the Battlefield?

Langdon Everard.

THE "BLACK PERIL" IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A subject class and their retention in that capacity is the real problem for those who make the assertion that we have only a "colour" problem. The modern economist, however, rightly concludes that it is an economic and not a colour problem. Of the many endeavours to create a prejudiced mind, the most blatant, unseemly, and unjust is the cry of the "Black Peril." This in the imaginary sounds despicable, in the real it is a huge exaggeration.

Domestic servants in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, in all capacities, even to personal attendance on their mistresses, are the African aboriginal natives. Outside of their being given to understand the many restrictions, laws, and conditions they are subject to, no further endeavour is made to educate them, and they are regarded as are the other animals in the kraals on the homestead. These "animals," too, like the rest, are ignored by both sexes of the household in whatever garb, if any, they may be attired. I have it from one of the Rhodesian Bantu tribe (who acted as "lady's maid" to one of our leading society ladies when she was on a northern trek), that he could a little tale unfold on the "female form divine," through the brazen attitude of this "modest" society lady. Little wonder, then, that we hear on very rare occasions that the animalism in these "animals" predominates, and the cry of "Black Peril" is at once raised.

Is it in this manner that we have a population of, I believe, millions of half-castes known as Cape coloured people? I trow not; the boot is on the other foot. Well may these natives cry out "White Peril!" But their cries are unheard, their grievances are *not* redressed. I also have it personally from an old member of the Bechuanaland Border Police that if a Kaffir woman was met on the lonely veldt by any of their patrols, "it was always a certain rape."

Under that flag of "freedom" which boasts that "Britons never shall be slaves," the natives are bound as slaves in the compounds, daily murdered by miners' diseases, and buried without a coffin. Dragged from their communes and peaceful homes, in many cases never to return, for it has been proved that the average life of a Kaffir in the mines is four years!

These people have hitherto looked to nobody for emancipation, but submit to the "superior" white race. To lead them into the political arena savours too much of the proverbial spider and the fly. Their home is in the commune, their freedom is Anarchy, and their means of attaining it an industrial revolution.

W. H. Harrison.

THE WEEKLY PAPER.

"Blank pessimism," says Grant Allen, "is the one creed possible for all save fools." But is it true? Is pessimism the "one creed possible for all save fools?" Is pessimism a creed at all?

I do not think so. Pessimism instead of being a "creed" is merely a mood which occasionally comes to individuals, and which is more or less transient, and is not a very pleasant mood.

But the optimist. He is an enthusiast; he it is who—although he is supposed to be selfish and to "ignore the maimed lives"—when asked to help to run a weekly paper says: "Certainly; it's the very thing that's wanted, and we *will* make it a success; what a weapon it will be!"

Now it seems as if the majority of you, the readers of Freedom, are pessimists. I am speaking to you—you, the readers of these lines. Will you come and join in the glorious fight for freedom against tyranny, oppression, and wrong? I have said if you are pessimists that pessimism was a very unpleasant mood to be in. But you can banish it. There is a cure for it. That cure is work. Do something to help forward our cause. Take an active part in the work. Do not be afraid; this is not bluff. If you want to banish your pessimism, work, *work!* The more active you become, the further will you drive your pessimism away. Try. Write at once to our secretary, 7 Holland Street, Glasgow. Write for some collection cards. Form a small group in your district with a view to at present advertising the weekly and getting in subscriptions, and afterwards distributing the paper and widening its circle of activity. Try this remedy, it will banish your pessimism.

If you will not help, if you think our effort futile, if you think the paper will not succeed, write and say so and why. Write to us. Let us know that you live. Let us know that you have read our circular-letter which appeared in Freedom for September. Let us know that you have read this appeal. *Write!* A letter or a postcard will do. *We want to know if you really exist!* Write and let us know.

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Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

***Monthly**, One Penny ; post free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents ; France, 15 Centimes.*

***Annual Subscription**, post free, 1s. 6d.; U.S.A., 36 Cents ; France, 1fr. 80c.*
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The Growth of the Anarchist Movement.

IN GREAT BRITAIN.

With the October issue FREEDOM completed the twenty-fifth year of its life. The quarter of a century that has elapsed since 1886 has wrought changes and seen developments that have been at least as significant for the future as any that have happened in previous years. Let it be said at once that we have all had our disappointments, deep enough and sad enough, as is the way in human affairs. But in turning once more to the first issue of our paper (the editorial from which we reprint in this number), we can conscientiously say that however small may have been our success in gaining the ear of the many, we have at least adhered without wavering and without compromise to those great principles of Anarchist Communism which we believe will be the basis of the future society for which we are now struggling.

An Anarchist paper to exist must have at least one virtue: it must live down the poison of calumny while it weathers the storms of the fight. Is it too much to hope that FREEDOM has succeeded in this? Judging by the great increase in the circulation of the paper and the sale of Anarchist literature, we believe it is not. And this is not all. Never in the life of the paper has Anarchist propaganda been so active and so widespread as to-day. Both in London and the provinces large and sympathetic crowds will listen to our ideas expounded by speakers who after their hard day's work go to the corners of the street to win converts to the cause.

The reaction which set in in England in 1887, and lasted till the dark days of the Boer War, is a black page in our history. During that period all advanced movements suffered more or less, the Anarchist perhaps most of all. But though for a time the movement seemed dead, the pulse of FREEDOM never ceased to beat, and when brighter days at last dawned, our little paper speedily regained its vigour. And now, with a circulation that has more than doubled, with pamphlets selling by tens of thousands every year, with new groups of intelligent and energetic young men forming in London and the great industrial centres, we have good reason to be hopeful for the future.

It is true that to-day we have the supreme advantage of finding the people in a receptive mood, and willing to give serious attention to our ideas. But what gain should we have from this were it not for the energy and courage of those comrades who, never having lost heart, are still active in speaking and lecturing for the movement? It would be impossible to say how much the extension of our ideas is due to these staunch friends and to the younger comrades who have joined them. But their good work is bearing fruit that must convince them of the need for their efforts. FREEDOM at any rate could not have lived without their help. And if, as we all hope, a new champion of our cause, a weekly paper, is soon to appear, we shall all derive mutual support and encouragement from this convincing evidence of the vigour and growth of the propaganda.

THE GENERAL EXTENSION OF ANARCHIST IDEAS.

The development of the fundamental ideas of Anarchism and their penetration into the minds of our contemporaries during the last twenty-five years is another feature which we must notice with full satisfaction. The general evolution of political, economic, and social life is certainly the dominant cause of that growth and penetration of our ideas which every observer notes on all sides. But the sum of *individual* efforts of our friends and supporters is quite as much an element of progress in this direction. The lessons of social life must be *interpreted* in order to find an echo in the minds of men. This is what we endeavoured to do, and here, again, we may say that our efforts were in the right direction of human progressive evolution.

Twenty-five years ago, when Socialism began once more to spread rapidly in this country, it was chiefly in its authoritarian, State-centralisation form that it was advocated before English audiences. The omnipotent State ruling everything—down to the love affairs of Romeo and Juliet, as one of our contributors put it in a charming skit in one of the early issues of FREEDOM—the Socialist Government ordering from a Socialist Berlin everything, including the amount of rice, potatoes, and smeetmeats allotted to every citizen of the Collectivist State, was considered as an ideal worthy of a forcible revolution. The centralisation of all functions of society and of all territorial needs in our ruling centre was then the ideal. The *bourgeois* State was going to take possession of the railways, the mines, the banks, the dram-shops, the schools transformed into opium dens for inoculating the young minds with the sleeping-sickness by means of an appropriate State education—all that with the idea that some day later on the Socialist dictators would take possession of all that preliminary concentration, that was what Social Democracy was preaching in the land of Robert Owen—until FREEDOM and our old comrade the *Commonweal* rose against such Caesarist and "Scientific Socialism" Utopias.

Who believes now in such nonsense? Who, apart from a few ghosts, believes in the virtues of concentration in the fight against the enemies of equality and liberty?

And who believes now in the virtues of Parliamentary pacificism? So many facts have proved to us that the initiation of every reform made within the last hundred years, however infinitesimally small that reform may have been, came always from the *pressure* exercised by Labour upon the legislators, from the *menace* of violence coming from below.

And the result is that we have now in this country and everywhere in Europe and America an awakening of interest among the working classes for the teachings of the Anarchists. The industrial workers of the world realise at last that they were wrong in having listened for the last thirty years to those sweet-tongued sirens who tried to turn the workers' attention from *their* struggles, *their* work, *their* interests, and to drag them into the quagmire of bourgeois politics—colonial increase, enrichment by exploiting the industrially backward nations, and militant Imperialism.

This thirty years' nightmare that stifled all energies of Labour seems at last to be dying out. The spirit of revolt against the past servility breaks out everywhere, West and East. And it is with new hopes and a new vigour that we are entering a new quarter of a century which we earnestly hope will be a real *de facto* stage in advance towards our aims and ideals.

ANARCHIST METHODS IN REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM.

Every schoolboy knows that the Plebeians of ancient Rome obtained concessions from the Patricians by a repeated general strike, which took the form of an exodus of the producing classes to the Aventine Mountains. The same means is used by the people in the despotic States of the Orient; when they are determined to wrest some rights from their oppressors, they close their shops and bazaars till they have gained their cause. This, again, is a perfect form of a general strike.

By strikes and economic struggle, the English workers during the first half of last century, without possessing the vote, obtained great economic advantages, created a powerful Trade Union organisation, and even forced the governing classes to recognise their claims (1869-76) in Labour legislation, including an extended political franchise.

Notwithstanding these experiences, after the defeat of the Paris Commune, when German military reaction spread over Europe, when the teaching of Socialism was corrupted by politicians and people striving for personal advancement, in the name of Socialism and working-class interests, the doctrine of legal, Parliamentary, and peaceful tactics began to be preached everywhere.

Only the Federalists of the great International Working Men's Association, grouped around the Jurassian Federation, remained faithful to the tradition of direct action by the workers in the economic struggle. Only those Federalists, afterwards known as Anarchists, exposed the futility and hypocrisy of those Parliamentary tactics, with their Labour legislation, compulsory arbitration, etc.

But so intimidating and paralysing was the influence of the European reaction of the "seventies" on all classes, that our Anarchist conceptions were considered dangerous even by the workers themselves. The French proletariat having lost nearly 30,000 of its best organised workers during the Commune, was crushed under martial law until 1876-77, and was not allowed to hold public meetings or congresses. The International was prohibited in France, and every member was liable to imprisonment for five years and more.

Not until 1879 was the first working-class Congress held, in Marseilles; and the most impressive reports dealing with tactics in the economic struggle were presented by Anarchists. The same happened at the next Congress at Havre, the reports on direct action, opposed by the Parliamentary section of the Congress, having been the work of Anarchist delegates. But at that Congress many of those workers who agreed to Parliamentary tactics were nevertheless in sympathy with direct action, and it was decided that "Syndicates" (Trade Unions) must be developed as vigorously as possible. Those non-Anarchist but Syndicalist workers formed a very active group, to which belonged men like Pelloutier, who were working in full sympathy with us Anarchists. From our side comrades like Guerinau, Tortellier, and others were carrying on an active propaganda of revolutionary direct action and the general strike in their paper *Pot au Colle*, a paper specially published for cabinetmakers.

The movement grew quickly. At the English Trade Union Congress in London, 1888, Tortellier, speaking for the French Unions, in his address developed the idea of the general strike. So successful was the propaganda of our Anarchist comrades in France, that at the International Socialist Congress of Zurich, against the bitter opposition of Engels, Liebnecht, and other Social Democrats, the French delegates obtained a discussion of the general strike.

From that moment Syndicalism, with direct action and the general strike, gained ground so rapidly, that at the next International Socialist Congress in London, 1896, the majority of the French delegates were Anarchists, and this time the general strike was put on the official agenda of the Congress. Not only in France, but also in Spain, Italy, Holland, Germany, and other countries, the ideas of direct action and the general strike were rapidly penetrating; and strike movements, with a tendency to a general strike, became more and more frequent. During the last fifteen years a general strike was declared several times at Barcelona, ending in sanguinary street fights with the police and troops. The same in Italy, at Massa-Carrara; but especially well known is the general strike at Milan in 1898, when guns were used against the people, a barbarity avenged by Bresci.

The power of a general strike was impressively demonstrated in the events of the Russian revolution, when the general strike of the railway, postal, telegraphic, and transport workers declared in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and spread over the whole Empire, paralysed the whole governmental system, and finally wrung from an unwilling tyrant a political amnesty and a Constitution.

This triumph broke down the obstinate opposition of Parliamentarians against the general strike, and even the German Social Democrats were obliged to recognise the value of this weapon in the social struggle. But in order to save their dignity they declared themselves in favour of a *political* general strike!

Such is, in short, the history of the Revolutionary Syndicalism which is now a dominating factor in the working-class movement in France, Italy, Spain, and Holland, and rapidly gaining ground in the Scandinavian countries, Germany, and Austria, notwithstanding the efforts of the capitalists and Social Democratic bureaucracy. Even in Russia, under the most cruel oppression, Revolutionary Syndicalism is making headway among the best elements of the organised workers.

But in England for the last fifteen years no manifestation of the revolutionary spirit was observed. By a strange contradiction, the English working-class movement, which had started with strike tactics and direct action, seemed to rely more and more on Parliamentary action. "Respectable" Labour leaders and Parliamentarians preached the necessity and the beneficial results of Labour representation in Parliament, Labour arbitration, etc. But real life and economic oppression did not fail to open the eyes of the workers, and at the initiative of the boilermakers and the Welsh miners, the traditional tactics of direct action were resumed, and the long-pent-up indignation of the workers burst forth in the great railway and transport strike, which was followed by a series of smaller strikes in all branches of industry. What the workers gained in this short period is well known and is the best proof of the efficiency of the direct action and general strike tactics with which the revolutionary spirit has reawakened.

As the reader sees, our Anarchist propaganda of revolutionary initiative and direct action was long and difficult, but it may be said that Revolutionary Syndicalism is now a living force among the working classes. It is our task to point out to them that these tactics are, however, only the means towards the final aim: the Social Revolution, the abolition of wage-slavery and of State organisation, and the realisation of a free, Communistic society.

CARNEGIE AND HOMESTEAD.

[The following letter, which was sent to the *Daily News* but was not inserted, is an answer to a letter written by Carnegie to the Mayor of Manchester, in which he tried to clear himself from the odium of the Homestead murders of 1892. His letter was printed in the *Daily News* of September 9.]

Dear Sir,—A friend sent me a clipping from your paper containing the letter of Mr. Carnegie *in re* the Homestead troubles of 1892. Permit me, as one familiar with the events at Homestead, to correct the false statements contained in Mr. Carnegie's letter. Of course, it's a long time since 1892, and London is far from Homestead, which may somewhat throw light upon the misstatements in the letter.

Mr. Carnegie says: "I was coaching in the far north of Scotland when the deplorable outbreak at Homestead occurred, and did not hear of it for two days later." It's true that Mr. Carnegie judiciously absented himself immediately before the Carnegie Company announced to its Homestead men a reduction in the standard of wages. But the Congressional investigation, following upon the Homestead troubles, brought to light the fact that the reduced wage scale was decided upon by the Carnegie Company three months previously. It was also proved before the Committee of Congress that the Carnegie Company had hired men from the Pinkerton Detective Agency, in the State of Illinois, fully *two months* before the old wage scale expired, and before there was any hint of reducing the scale, or of any trouble. Evidently the Company was "preparing." And Mr. Carnegie knew nothing about it all the time? It was also proved at the investigation that the Carnegie Company *fortified* its works, built a high fence around them, with barbed wire and loopholes for sharpshooters, with 12-ft. platforms on which electric searchlights were erected and sentinels stationed—and all this took place six weeks before the outbreak occurred at Homestead.

And Mr. Carnegie "did not hear of it till two days later"?

The Carnegie Company, acting through the chairman, H. C. Frick, chartered steamers and sent the armed Pinkertons stealing into Homestead secretly under cover of night. They began to shoot before landing; a boy of 17, standing on the gang-plank, was the first victim. Till then everything was peaceful in Homestead. The unprovoked murders by the Pinkertons resulted in the battle of July 6, 1892.

In 1886, Mr. Carnegie wrote in the *Forum*: "Peaceful settlement of differences should be reached through arbitration. I would lay it down as a maxim that there is no excuse for a strike or a lock-out until arbitration of differences has been offered by one party and refused by the other." The Homestead affair was a *lock out*. The workers had offered to arbitrate, and the Company replied: "There is nothing to arbitrate." Mr. Carnegie further wrote in the *Forum*: "The right of the workmen to combine and form Trades Unions is no less sacred than the right of the manufacturer to enter into association and conference with his fellows.....Manufacturers should meet the men more than half way." In June, 1892, Carnegie reorganised his firm, merging the Carnegie Bros. and Company, Carnegie, Phipps and Co., and other independent titles into the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited. And in the same month of June, 1892, the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, issued an ultimatum to the workers of Homestead, *refusing to recognise the organisation of the workers*, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. Evidently Mr. Carnegie applies his philanthropic theories in a rather peculiar manner.

The above will suffice to give your readers the other side of the picture drawn by Mr. Carnegie. I merely wish to add that his recollection of dates is unusually faulty. He claims that the "Governor of the State had called out troops and was in possession of the works." As a matter of fact, the Governor *refused* to call out troops, even after repeated demands by the Carnegie Company. Troops were sent to Homestead *long after* the Pinkertons had murdered a dozen people; the trouble was over then; the troops were merely for the protection of the "blacklegs."

As to the cable Mr. Carnegie claims to have received from the workers, nothing of it has ever been known to the Homestead people. It's the first time Mr. Carnegie has made mention of it. The Union of the workers and the workers themselves would have absolutely repudiated an appeal to Carnegie, as it was universally understood that Carnegie arranged the Homestead lock-out and absented himself merely to shift responsibility for the troubles which he knew would follow.

Trusting you will give this, the Homestead view of the events of 1892, I am, cordially,
Alexander Berkman.
September 22.

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* This cable, according to Carnegie, was as follows:—"Kind master, tell us what to do and we will do it for you.—Workmen's Committee."

FREEDOM.

(Reprinted from No. 1 of FREEDOM.)

THROUGH the long ages of grinding slavery behind us, Freedom, that unknown goal of human pilgrimage, has hovered, a veiled splendour, upon the horizon of men's hopes. Veiled in the trembling ignorance of mankind, their misty unreasoning terror of all that revealed itself as power, whether it were an apparently incomprehensible and uncontrollable natural force, or the ascendancy of superior strength, ability or cunning in human society. The inward attitude of slavish adoration towards what imposes itself from without as a fact beyond our understanding, that is the veil which hides Freedom from the eyes of men. Sometimes it takes the form of the blind fear of the savage of his "medicine" or his fetish, sometimes of the equally blind reverence of an English workman for the law of his masters, and the semblance of consent to his own economic slavery wormed out of him by the farce of representation. But whatever the form, the reality is the same, ignorance, superstitious terror, cowardly submission.

What is human progress but the advance of the swelling tide of revolt against this tyranny of the nightmare of ignorant dread, which has held men the slaves of external nature, of one another, and of themselves? Science and the arts, knowledge and all its varied shapes of practical application by ingenuity and skill, the binding and enlightening force of affection and social feeling, the protest of individuals and of peoples by word and deed against religious, economic, political, and social oppression, these, one and all, are weapons in the hands of the Rebels against the powers of Darkness sheltered behind their shield of authority, divine and human. But they are weapons not all equally effective at all times. Each has its period of special utility.

We are living at the close of an era during which the marvellous increase of knowledge left social feeling behind, and enabled the few who monopolised the newly acquired power over nature to create an artificial civilisation, based upon their exclusive claim to retain private, personal possession of the increased wealth produced.

Property—not the claim to use, but to a right to prevent others from using—enables individuals who have appropriated the means of production to hold in subjection all those who possess nothing but their vital energy, and who must work that they may live. No work is possible without land, materials, and tools or machinery; thus the masters of these things are the masters also of the destitute workers, and can live in idleness upon their labour, paying them in wages only enough of the produce to keep them alive, only employing so many of them as they find profitable and leaving the rest to their fate.

Such a wrong once realised is not to be borne. Knowledge cannot long be monopolised, and social feeling is innate in human nature, and both are fermenting within our hidebound society as the yeast in the dough. Our age is on the eve of a revolt against property, in the name of the common claim of all to a common share in the results of the common labour of all.

Therefore, we are Socialists, disbelievers in Property, advocates of the equal claims of each man and woman to work for the community as seems good to him or her—calling no man master—and of the equal claim of each to satisfy, as seems good to him, his natural needs from the stock of social wealth he has laboured to produce. We look for this socialisation of wealth, not to restraints imposed by authority upon property, but to the removal, by the direct personal action of the people themselves, of the restraints which secure property against the claims of popular justice. For authority and property both are manifestations of the egoistical spirit of domination, and we do not look to Satan to cast out Satan.

We have no faith in legal methods of reform. Fixed and arbitrary written law is, and has always been, the instrument employed by anti-social individuals to secure their authority, whether delegated or usurped, when the maintenance of that authority by open violence has become dangerous. Social feeling, and the social habits formed and corrected by common experience, are the actual cement of associated life. It is the specious embodiment of a portion of this social custom in law, which has made law tolerable, and even sacred, in the eyes of the people it exists to enslave. But in proportion as the oppression of law is removed, the true binding force of the influence of social feeling upon individual responsibility becomes apparent and is increased. We look for the destruction of monopoly, not by the imposition of fresh artificial restraints, but by the abolition of all arbitrary restraints whatever. Without law, property would be impossible, and labour and enjoyment free.

Therefore, we are Anarchists, disbelievers in the government of man by man in any shape and under any pretext. The human freedom to which our eyes are raised is no negative abstraction of licence for individual egoism, whether it be massed collectively as majority rule or isolated as personal tyranny. We dream of the positive freedom which is essentially one with social feeling; of free scope for the social impulses, now distorted and compressed by Property, and its guardian the Law; of free scope for that individual sense of responsibility, of respect for self and for others, which is vitiated by every form of collective interference, from the enforcing of contracts to the hanging of criminals; of free scope for the spontaneity and individuality of each human being, such as is impossible when one hard and fast line is fitted to all conduct. Science is teaching mankind that such crime as is not the manufacture of our vile economic and legal system, can only be rationally as well as humanely treated by fraternal medical care, for it results from deformity or disease, and a hard and fast rule of conduct enforced by condign punishment is neither guide nor remedy, nothing but a perennial source of injustice amongst men.

We believe each sane adult human being to possess an equal and indefeasible claim to direct his life from within by the light of his own consciousness, to the sole responsibility of guiding his own action as well as forming his own opinions. Further, we believe that the acknowledgment of this claim is a necessary preliminary to rational voluntary agreement, the only permanent basis of harmonious life in common. Therefore, we reject every method of enforcing assent, as in itself a hindrance to effectual co-operation, and further, a direct incentive to anti-social feeling. We deprecate as a wrong to human nature, individually, and therefore collectively, all use of force for the purpose of coercing others; but we assert the social duty of each to defend, by force if need be, his dignity as a free human being, and the like dignity in others, from every form of insult and oppression.

We claim for each and all the personal right and social obligation to be free. We hold the complete social recognition and acknowledgment of such a claim to be the goal of human progress in the future, as its growth has been the gauge of the development of society in the past, of the advance of man from the blind social impulse of the gregarious animal to the conscious social feeling of the free human being.

Such, in rough outline, is the general aspect of the Anarchist Socialism our paper is intended to set forth, and by the touchstone of this belief we purpose to try the current ideas and modes of action of existing society.

POLITICAL IMPOSSIBILISM.

One of the most unmistakable facts of the last twenty-five years has been the necessity for a complete change of ideas amongst men and women respecting matters economic and political. There could be no doubt that no great social changes—deep and thorough in character, and permanent in effect—were possible without a tremendous moral and intellectual change in the people having previously taken place.

It has been strikingly obvious that the overthrow of the present capitalistic state of society must be preceded by a strenuous revolutionary campaign in the realm of ideas, so that men and women may be enabled to rid themselves of the effects of tradition and custom, and to form a new social conception of society. The work had to be done. Some of it has been done, and done well. It must be continued until the whole hateful and hideous structure wherein mankind is held tightly in the grip of greed and tyranny is swept away. Though it is so apparent that the Revolution must come from the people, and that the machinery of Government is everywhere constituted to check, delay, and prevent root social changes, many propagandists have been deceived by the sophistries of Parliamentary politics.

One of the most plausible assertions with which the revolutionary Socialist has been met has been that the State has provided a means whereby the workers might achieve their emancipation with little trouble and small risk to themselves. More than that, the advocates of State aid have blatantly declared the impossibility of realising our objects by any other methods.

Let us glance briefly at the facts in relation to this boasted method now. Take the experience of the Social Democratic Federation, or Party. It is scarcely credible that even their most sincere friends can regard the electioneering campaigns of that party as other than a pitiable fiasco. Their first prominent candidate and champion, John Burns, went over to the enemy. John Ward, who was to don the cloak of the deserter, donned it with a vengeance, for he too became a Liberal M.P. H. M. Hyndman's Burnley candidature was a failure—even when he was positive of success; and all the appeals of his comrades to the Liberals not to split the vote, and to let "the father of Social Democracy" in just this once, were of no avail. To these instances have been added a whole series of ridiculous candidatures. All the whittling down of principles, the juggling with words, the compromise even with Anti-Socialism, has not mitigated the continued serious disaster to the Socialist propaganda—culminating with Bethnal Green—which these election contests have involved.

The general effect of all this dependence upon the vote and Parliamentary candidates has been to cut their party adrift, both in spirit and purpose, from the great working-class struggle. It has become a foreign sect, and when a movement of revolt bursts forth is left high and dry on one side while the great body of Labour moves on.

It may be contended that we have cited the most unfortunate of the Parliamentary Socialist parties in this country; but if the most fortunate sections be quoted, the results are even more discouraging to those who earnestly desire revolutionary advance by such means. The I.L.P. and the Labour Party have enjoyed considerable success at the polls, and the net result has been not merely disappointing, but this success has tended to divert the energies of Socialists from vital economic changes to endeavours to secure a number of unimportant superficial reforms, and to involve the main force of their movement in the petty trickeries of politics. That the Labour Members have conscientiously done their best may be true, but it should be recognised and frankly admitted that the Parliamentary atmosphere and methods are fatal to the realisation of Socialist aims and objects.

What has happened? Let no one imagine that the remarks made above are the outcome of prejudice. From the ranks of Parliamentarians themselves arise the bitterest complaints respecting the useless character of the political game to the workers. A. M. Thompson (in the *Clarion*, August 8) thus sums up the situation:—"Our standard bearers have become mere opportunists, more concerned to bend to the electors' ignorance than to instruct them, more concerned to preserve their precious seats than to win emancipation for the oppressed. All we have succeeded in doing is to lift the prancing paste-board Bismarcks of the Trades Congress into Parliament with their childish spites and envies, their colossal conceits and bombastic bumptiousness, their narrow 'practical' dogmas, their unconscious ignorance, and their insolent usurpations. While they wrangle and spout and vote and pose, the enemy—Poverty—remains as bitter and deadly as ever. . . . . The gates of hell stand wide, and the child's sob in the darkness of the slums curses as deeply as though the Labour Party had never been heard of." Worse than that, we may add, Parliamentary success brought pessimism, confusion, disunion, and despair throughout the land.

The Parliamentary method has been barren of good results. G. Lansbury, M.P., said: "The House of Commons was doing nothing for the poor, who could only get things done by doing them for themselves" (*Daily Telegraph*, August 17). No wonder Cunninghame Graham has declared that "for twenty years he had been working by Parliamentary methods and was heartily sick of it."

Practically nothing so far has resulted from the appeals to the State for redress of the workers' grievances. Instead, there is a serious prospect of greater general servility for the wage-slave class, enforced by a considerable addition of offences to the penal code and punishable by imprisonment. The latter result is one of the most ominous prospects of the time, and is a direct outcome of the Parliamentary method. No matter how numerous may be the political reforms secured by the voting method, the economic bondage of the workers will remain, while the cost of Government and the demoralisation it causes will increase. The fetish of Government—whether "democratic" or otherwise—must be attacked and demolished. It is unnecessary, and injurious to the interests of the whole working community. Free men and women are able to associate and organise their own efforts without its aid. Government means procrastination, inefficiency, gross expense, deceit, fraud, and tyranny. Whether expressed as monarchy, oligarchy, or representative Government, it has bolstered up privilege, injustice, robbery, and the most brutal and ignorant superstitions. It has obstructed and delayed reforms. It has oppressed, persecuted, ruined, tortured, and murdered reformers of all kinds in all lands and in all ages. The poorer and weaker the victims, the more ruthless is the arm of law and authority. Government belongs to the dark ages. Its nature is unchanged. Its organisation is alien to the spirit and method of free communities. It is futile to form new parties to use this obsolete machine.

There is a tremendous force of voluntary or non-government work and organisation in existence, not alone in this country but throughout the world, which is capable of bringing help to the poor and of making those ordered arrangements which may be necessary in the social life of men and women. Even now State Government is superfluous in these respects, and there is no need whatever to fasten the livery of the State upon every member of human society.

In Great Britain we are now at the parting of the ways. The power of the workers outside the polling-booth has been demonstrated as forcibly as has been their weakness in the legislative sphere. Were the workers sufficiently educated and resolved to win their emancipation by their own efforts, Capitalism and Landlordism could not last twenty-four hours.

G.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

[*Reports of the Movement are specially invited, and should be sent in not later than the 25th of each month.*]

Glasgow.—We are still engaged in open-air propaganda, but more workers are wanted if we are to make any progress, and we appeal to those who have remained in the background to come forward. Things have to be "done." The Weekly Paper again; another outlet for all the energy you Freedom readers have to spare. Comrade McKay has not heard from all of you. Why?

Meetings on Gaol Square still interest a good crowd. Indoor meetings in Brassfinishers' Hall, 36 Main Street, Gorbals, begin on October 29 with a lantern lecture on "Recent Strikes" by G. Barrett. The meetings will be continued every alternate Sunday; on Nov. 12 Max speaks on "The Chicago Martyrs"; Nov. 26, Leckie, "Shelley, Poet and Revolutionist"; Dec. 10, Semple, "Tolstoy"; Dec. 24, Muirhead, "Dreams of Dreamers, Past and Present."

On October 8 we had an interesting encounter with H. Quelch at a meeting in the Pavilion Theatre, where he addressed an audience of 2,000 on "The New Revolutionary Movement." Previous to this date it was agreed that we should endeavour to get from him an explanation of his statement about Emma Goldman. The Clarion Scouts, who run the lectures, were not averse to this; but as this meeting was being run in conjunction with the S.D.P., they also were interviewed, but refused, and therefore were responsible for the scene which took place when comrade Barrett put the following resolution:—"That this meeting calls on Mr. Quelch to publish a withdrawal of his statement concerning Emma Goldman's connection with the police, or to publish the evidence on which his statement was based, or to bring forward his evidence before a committee of Social Democrats and Anarchists and publish the finding of that committee." Before the lecture, Quelch resolutely refused any explanation, pleading that he was merely a deputy. This having failed, the only means was direct action. On Quelch rising after the chairman's remarks, Barrett also rose and proceeded with the resolution. Of course, there was much confusion; but although attempts were made to eject him, our comrade succeeded in making himself heard by all. Quelch, in a superior manner, informed the audience that this scene was an example of Anarchy; but every one was not satisfied with his particular decision, and there was much shouting for the resolution, even by S.D.P. members.

Peace was restored when the chairman promised an opportunity at question time, and after patiently suffering the revolutionary (?) Harry's lecture, in which he mostly criticised the evolutionary I.L.P., we took the earliest opportunity of beginning where we left off. Quelch stated that he would leave the platform should the resolution be read from it. Proceedings were finished by the theatre manager; but outside, Emma Goldman's pamphlets were all sold, as well as many others. We regretted having caused any inconvenience to the Scouts, of whom most were in sympathy. On the suggestion that the matter be explained at another meeting, they thought it more advisable to forward the resolution to Quelch, and urged him to take the matter up in *Justice*. He may, but we doubt it, so wait and see.

A. F.

Edinburgh.—A new group has been formed here lately, composed of the few comrades scattered about the city, together with one or two members of the Wallyford group. We have deliberately christened ourselves the Edinburgh Anarchist Communist Group. That is a big responsibility to take upon our shoulders if we are really intending business and not merely taking the name in vain. Unfortunately, we will not be able to do much outdoor work as there is not an open-air speaker amongst us as yet. However, we have made a start with Sunday night indoor meetings, having already held the first three. These have been as successful as any one could have expected. They have taken the form of debates rather than addresses, our method being to arrange the subject a week beforehand, and allow the two principal speakers twenty minutes or so, then ten minutes each for others; and it is surprising to observe the amount of interest that is taken in the different subjects. One subject especially, Trade Unionism and its relation to Anarchism, is to be continued on October 29, and possibly may not be finished then.

It is practically settled that comrade Barrett, of Glasgow, will speak for us on November 5. He will no doubt push us more into the thick of the fight. Time will tell whether or not we can profit by it. So far, the literature has gone exceedingly well, considering our meetings have been almost of a private nature.

G. R.

Our group meets at 142 High Street every Sunday (7 p.m.).

Bristol.—With the possibility of very soon having an English weekly Anarchist paper, and with the effort to make that possibility a reality, the Bristol readers of Freedom have rather exceeded their expectations in finding a round dozen ready at once to become 10s. subscribers to the new paper; and we would suggest to other intending subscribers, not yet millionaires, to "fall in and follow us," and pay, like us, by 6d. instalments. This effort has brought us together upon alternate Mondays at 19 The Haymarket, where we hope to welcome all comrades visiting Bristol. We heartily endorse the excellent suggestion of the London comrades, that the prospective editor of the new paper should be enabled to visit the principal centres, and are prepared to arrange for and meet the expenses of a public lecture here. We keenly anticipate the visit of G. B., for indeed he is not unknown to Bristol.

Percy Tanner, who did some good street-corner propaganda here during the railway strike, is with us again, and on October 23, our first discussion night, introduced "The Superstition of the Vote." We want some more from him before he goes.

Bristolians please note, we meet at 19 The Haymarket on the following dates: November 6, 11, and 20. A wink's as good as a nod to a blind horse.

A. P.

Liverpool.—Thing are not so lively this month as they might be. The weather has been decidedly against open-air propaganda. Comrade Muston, however, is willing to offer his services to any society for the purpose of a debate or lecture upon Anarchist Communism. He journeyed to Tranmere Socialist Society on October 15 and gave a good account of himself there, the subject being "The Way to Revolution." Many questions were asked, and replied to effectively. On October 13, the anniversary of the murder of Francisco Ferrer, the Socialist Sunday Schools were posted up with free pamphlets, "The Martyrdom of Francisco Ferrer," to be distributed to all the children of the schools. It is well that the young should know of heroes other than those depicted as such in their school history-books.

The air of Liverpool is polluted with the electioneering whines of the saviours of society—the Labour fakirs. Liberals and Tories have retired from their squabblings over power, at least for this year, save where Labour is in the field. The compact of Liberal and Tory, it is said, is due to the "unrest" in the city. Needless to say our friends the enemy (Labour candidates) are "going great guns." It is amusing to read some of the election addresses of these new gods. One bright individual sadly regrets the recent disturbances of the working men. *If* they only elect us to power, strikes would automatically cease! We know only too well that a Labour Government would be more stringent, more tyrannical with strikers because we have evidence of the fact. Strikers *will* run up against "law and order," and to defend this "law and order" will be the duty of the Labour fakirs in a governing body.

We hope to have a visit from a comrade for the purpose of a week's lecturing. Donations to this end would be gladly received by

Dick James.

Norwich.—We have been fortunate enough to have another visit from John Turner. I think I mentioned before that Turner is always sure of a good audience when he comes here, and it was so on this occasion, as the club-room was quite full. His subject was "Lessons from the Recent Strikes." He commenced by explaining to his audience that the idea of a general strike was not a new one, that it had been used in early Roman history, and in more recent times in Belgium, Russia, Sweden, etc.; and though it had always been tabooed by Social Democrats, it was only just lately that they had admitted what a powerful weapon it was to secure concessions from the exploiting class. He explained that since 1848 the spirit of revolt having practically died, the masters had held the workers so cheap that they had taken every advantage of them. It was true that between then and now there had been the new Trade Union revolt twenty years ago, which secured many concessions, and which was allowed to run to seed in politics. Stagnation in the Labour movement had followed, with the result that during the time when Trade Unionists had been inactive on the industrial field and had centred all their attention on Parliament, the income of the middle and upper classes had gone up tremendously, but which did not happen nearly to the same extent during the few years of the workers' industrial activity. He declared we had been told so often by Labour leaders that the combinations of Capital had become too powerful for the strike to cope with, and that they must turn their attention to Parliament for the future. Yet the recent strike of transport workers, sailors, and dockers had given the lie to this, as these men had defeated the most powerful combine in the country; and these men, after looking to Parliament for years, were again thrown back on the industrial field. He concluded by showing that the lesson of the strikes had proved that the workers, by extending their field of action, by linking up one with the other, could win not only some concession for themselves, but could wring from the masters the means by which they were robbed to-day, but that Parliament would be a hindrance and not a help. It was a splendid address. I strongly advise comrades in other towns to endeavour to get Turner to lecture for them. He is a power in himself.

A. B.

HALIFAX.—The flag still waves here, ably supported by Comrade Pollock; with the occasional help of myself, much good is being done here, our esteemed comrade maintaining steady sales of *Freedoms* and pamphlets. Foolish opposition has become a rarity, although the delivery of a lecture on "Direct Action per la Credit System" roused a few well-dressed hooligans to try and rush our platform; but a quiet appeal to reason by a comrade prevented a demonstration of the force of *our* attack. But the anger of the "buzwar" was plainly shown in the malicious preconcerted bombardment of questions. Here is one as a sample which followed a series leading up to it: "Is not a man on trial for his life justified in shooting his judge if in so doing he shall be enabled to escape?" I may say that the nearest lunatic asylum is twelve miles from here and it is full up.

ESPERANTIST.

LONDON.

WALTHAMSTOW, Church Hill, Hoe Street.—Meetings here have been very satisfactory. We have had good speakers and mostly good-sized crowds to listen to them. At times we have had some opposition from the Church party and members of the Conservative Club close by, but no questions or opposition from S.D.P.ers who have helped to swell the crowd. I guess they want something easy—Free Trader, Tariff Reformer, or something of that ilk. We are now arranging with a comrade for a place for indoor discussions, because we find it quite a job to get speakers to come such a long distance. The speakers for October have been Comrades Webster, Ponder, and Guy Aldred.

F. L.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(October 4—November 2.)

FREEDOM *Guarantee Fund.*—Anon. £1, Silentulo 1s, M. Feldman 1s 6d, H. Glasse 5s 3d, M. Rocker 1s, S. Linder 2s 6d, N. £1.

FREEDOM *Subscriptions*—W. W. W. 9d, E. Gates 1s 6d, Mrs. Hyde 3s.

Weekly Paper Fund—S. Corio 1s.

Mexican Revolution Fund—Anon. 5s, Comp 1s.

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Bristol.—J. FLYNN, Haymarket.
Burnley—J. TAMLYN, 59 Rumley Road.
Dundee.—L. MACARTNEY, 203, Overgate.
Cardiff—M. CLARK, 26 Wood Street.
L. D. GILLETT, Market Gallery.
Rhondda (Glam.)—F. DAVIES, 64 Miskin Road, Trealaw.
Belfast—W. ROBINSON, 167 York Street.
Paris.—Kiosque, Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, opposite La Menagère.
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U.S.A.—N. NOTKIN, 1332 S. 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
M. MAISEL, 422 Grand Street, New York, N.Y.
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New Zealand.—P. JOSEPHS, 43A Willis Street, Wellington

Anarchist Communist Meetings in London.

Brixton—Rushcroft Road, Sundays, 7.30.
Clerkenwell—Garnault Place, Mondays and Thursdays, 8.
East Ham—Cock Hotel, Thursdays, 7.30.
Edmonton—Silver Street, Thursdays, 8.
Fulham—Walham Green Church, Sundays, 11.30; Tuesdays, 8.
Hyde Park—Sundays, 7.
Mile End Waste—Saturdays, 8.
Regent's Park—Sundays, 11.30.
Southwark—St. George's Circus, Thursdays, 8.
Tottenham—West Green Corner, Sundays, 7.30.
Upton Park—District Railway Station, Mondays, 7.30.
Victoria Park—Sundays, 11.30.
Walthamstow—Church Hill, Wednesdays, 8.
Woolwich—Beresford Square, Sundays, 11.30.

Speakers wishing to book up vacant dates, or willing to exchange dates, should write J. F. Tanner, 29 Beryl Road, Hammersmith, W.

Edinburgh Anarchist Communists.—Meet at 7 p.m. every Sunday, at 142 High Street.

Wimbledon Socialist Society.—The Broadway, Wimbledon. Sunday, Nov. 12, at 7.30, J. Walters, "Survey of the Revolutionary Movement."

PAMPHLET AND BOOK LIST.

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The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of "Freedom."

On Saturday, October 28th, a number of comrades assembled at tea and conversazione in the Food Reform Restaurant, Furnival Street, Holborn, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication of FREEDOM.

After an excellent tea, accompanied by much agreeable conversation, with many renewals of old-time friendship, John Turner called for general attention.

He said that they were gathered to celebrate the fact that FREEDOM had now appeared for twenty-five years in succession. He had himself been more or less connected with the paper during the whole of that time, and knew what labour, anxiety, and sacrifice the publication of a propagandist journal involved. FREEDOM had struck a note which was unique in the social movement, and students in time to come would turn to its pages with interest as affording an index to the influences exerted upon the world at this time, and would recognise more fully than ourselves the great value of the journal. Numerous difficulties had been encountered and overcome. The path had not been one of ease. FREEDOM had not merely fought against the stream on more than one occasion, but against divergent streams. Even if the paper had gone under, there would have been nothing which would have given them cause for shame. Their work had not been in vain. Everybody must admit the growth of our ideas. And during the last twelve months especially our ideas had been amply vindicated.

Kropotkin said he was delighted to meet that evening so many of the old comrades who had helped FREEDOM at the outset, and to see the faces of those who had been lost sight of for a time. Looking back over the twenty-five years which had elapsed, we could recognise several new lines along which progress had been going on. He would speak of some of them only, leaving to other comrades to indicate the progress realised on the lines of Direct Action and direct economic struggle, as against Parliamentarism. At the beginning of that period nearly every one talked of centralisation as the ideal of the Socialist movement. The Centralists at that time imagined that in the Socialist state of society everything would be arranged by a centralised authority, which would share out everybody's portion of food, etc., and no one considered this idea of authority extravagant or impracticable.

There had been a tremendous change in these respects in general Socialist thought, and opinion had veered in an opposite direction. Events and circumstances have shown that local action and organisation is capable of efficient work. FREEDOM had specially emphasised these facts. And now we may look to the Latin countries for great experiments in local initiative. The Anglo-Saxon countries would quickly follow their example, and by reason of their better organisation might do still greater things.

FREEDOM'S work had also been of an educational character. In this direction it had taken a line of its own, never neglecting to treat in a serious scientific way the main items of Anarchist Communist thought. Of course, by the side of FREEDOM there was room and opportunity for other papers, each performing a special function; and he would be happy to see a group of papers come into existence making a speciality of science, the general strike, direct action, anti-militarism, etc., for the help and guidance of the working classes. This had been done in France, and it had been shown that variation in character did not necessarily mean antagonism. We needed such a group of papers in this country dealing with various aspects of social and economic problems. FREEDOM would then still survive, and he believed had a long career of great usefulness before it.

Ted Leggatt said that twenty-five years ago a Labour revolt such as occurred recently—especially with reference to carmen, with whom he was connected—would have been regarded as a Utopian idea; yet it was seen that the commercial affairs of London could be suddenly brought to a standstill by the poorest workers. There had been a great demonstration of the power of the working class through the medium of direct action. The ideas of Anarchism were slowly but surely permeating the working classes.

W. Tcherkesov—who, Turner remarked, had probably done as much as any individual to influence Socialist thought—apologised for speaking in broken English. He remembered when, thirty-five years ago, they started a true Anarchist paper in France. Amid all discouragement they had persisted, feeling sure that one day their work would be successful. This had been verified by the tendencies of the Labour revolts in various countries of Europe. He thought that the general strike, when it came in reality, would develop into the Social Revolution. He was proud of his connection with *Freedom.*

Mr. H. W. Nevinson said he had written for *Freedom* fifteen years ago. He had always felt grateful to the paper for its influence upon himself, an influence which was dynamic—not *dynamitic*. Its influence travelled far beyond its own circle or this country. It had indirectly been of some assistance to Mr. Wm. Archer, writing in defence and vindication of the Spanish martyr Ferrer. Wherever he had travelled about the world he had found the main principles enunciated by *Freedom* proved to be true. Everywhere the central Government had been the worst criminal in national offences. He instanced the Dreyfus case, slavery in West Africa, the South African War, Morocco, and atrocities in Turkey, Russia, and elsewhere. It was not the peoples who desired these aggressions, but it was the central Government which instigated and performed them. Incidentally he referred to the Insurance Bill proposed by the present Liberal Government, and claimed that it would involve the servitude of the English people. The battle of freedom is never finished, and many hard fights are before us in England. That battle must be fought. He felt glad that he had been associated, even in a small way, with the work *Freedom* was performing.

R. Rocker, in yielding to general calls for a speech, humorously excused himself from making an attack on the good old English language. He admired the good service given by *Freedom* in the past, and wished them every success in the future.

W. J. Needs said that his travels through England had convinced him that the spirit and idea of Anarchism was spreading even in the most remote and unexpected places. He suggested that such meetings as that one might result in the formation of a useful voluntary organisation. The Industrial Unionist movement and Labour revolts were essentially Anarchistic in character, and were largely the outcome of Anarchist teaching. He remembered being present at a meeting some years ago when Turner put a question to H. M. Hyndman on the general strike, and Hyndman spoke of it as a thing of the past and as a dream. It was no mere dream now. He resented the Labour movement being exploited by individuals for their own profit and aggrandisement. It was a great movement for emancipation.

Honore J. Jaxon, who was here as the accredited representative of the Mexican rebels, said he was glad of the opportunity of adding his tribute to *Freedom.* It was the only paper in England which without diplomatic wirepulling readily and generously opened its columns to the statement on behalf of the Mexican cause. Their fight in that land was a part of the struggle of the proletarians of all countries. Their prospects of success in Mexico were brighter than they had ever been. Workers there were cultivating their land with rifles slung across their shoulders. The propaganda during the reign of Diaz, that unspeakable tyrant, was a risky experience. They had been shot or sent into slavery on the plantations whenever the Government caught them. For all that the Mexican Revolution was the result of their efforts. The capitalist Government of Madero is further off putting down the so-called "insurrectos" than ever, and Mexico will still be one of those countries to which capitalists will be unable to remove their capital, as they so often threaten their discontented workers to do, and as often do not.

Tarrida del Marmol congratulated the *Freedom* Group on the anniversary. It was fifteen years since he came to England, and found here in the *Freedom* Group sympathetic friends. It was *Freedom's* agitation which had saved many lives in Spain, and stayed the tortures and persecution in that country at the time. *Freedom* instinctively attacked authority for its crimes. At the present time he would welcome the declaration of a Spanish Republic in order to put an end to the terrible repression carried on by a Radical Government. The Prime Minister had been fully aware of the tyranny and suffering under the previous Government, and had promised him personally to put an end to it; but since he had got into power he had succumbed to the evil influence of the authoritarian position. Speaking of friends associated with *Freedom,* he referred to good old Sam Mainwaring, to whose energy we owed the few numbers of the paper the *General Strike,* and who had lived and died in the movement. He spoke affectionately of the women comrades, such as Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Dryhurst, Miss Roche, Mrs. Hyde, and others, who had been the good angels of the cause. There had been many comrades who had given their lives in the cause of the workers and liberty, particularly in Spain; but their work would end in triumph.

E. Malatesta urged the *Freedom* Group to persevere unflinchingly in their work. There was great necessity for it, as was proved by the possibility of such piratical adventures as that of the Italian Government in Tripoli and by other Governments who sent their soldiers to butcher people wholesale.

W. Ponder, speaking as one of the younger generation of propagandists, said that during a two years' experience in the Anarchist movement he had noticed an advance in ideas amongst the people. He thought there were great possibilities of progress in the future. The path had been made easier by the work of the greybeards. The working classes in London were showing a readiness to carefully consider Anarchist ideas, which was not so much the case a few years ago. He paid tribute to the work done by many comrades who did not appear on the platforms at meetings, and specially to "his small comrade" F. Large as one of those who gave valuable service to the cause.

Nellie Plostchansky, also as one of the younger comrades, said she was delighted to share in the celebration of the movement in England. The young would carry on the work of the old.

R. Clarke, after telling an amusing story affirming that "there was no power under the earth or above the earth to equal the gift of the gab," said his experience led him to confirm the truth of the position occupied by Kropotkin and other comrades. He remembered Mr. J. A. Hobson saying in a lecture that the trend of events was to Anarchist Communism and not to Social Democracy. He did not understand the significance of the assertion at the time, but its meaning had since become plain to his mind. One prominent feature of the recent Labour revolts had been the fact that the "leaders" had been compelled to act the part of correspondence clerks while the underdogs had shown their power and capacity for action.

A. Marsh, in response to the call of the meeting, expressed his pleasure at the success of the evening, which he hoped would be repeated, and said he felt sure *Freedom* would maintain its reputation for good work in the cause.

M. Nettlau said he was glad to be present with the comrades in England once again, and regarded *Freedom* as one square yard of free soil in this country. Its influence was international in scope.

W. Wess was heartily glad as an old worker in the movement to be present at the twenty-fifth anniversary. He pressed the claims of the proposed weekly Anarchist paper upon them.

A. Barker, who was called upon to speak as representing the band of revolutionary Socialists who commenced propaganda in London in 1879, said that he thought there was not enough optimism in the movement. He remembered Herbert Burrows calling a meeting of the "revolutionary" elements in 1880, when only six persons could be got together. At that period some good work was done by the English section of the Roe Street Club in Soho. The smallness of the effort in those days contrasted most favourably with the situation now. He wished *Freedom* every success.

I. Sugar said he wished to join in the general greetings to the *Freedom* Group.

T. H. Keell spoke with feelings of gratitude to the many comrades in London and the provinces who worked patiently and persistently and in obscurity in the cause of Anarchism, and who gave constant help to the publishers of *Freedom*. He was glad to say that for years past the journal had been steadily on the upgrade. The Anarchist propaganda was exerting a powerful influence upon the minds of students of social and economic questions in many parts of the world, and *Freedom* was able to be of service in many ways.

During the evening Nellie Plostchansky recited the poems "Revolution," by Ferdinand Freiligrath, and "Gods and the People," by Voltairine de Cleyre, and several songs of freedom were sung.

The following letters and telegrams have been received and were read to the meeting. Considerations of space have compelled us to condense a few of them:—

I much regret my inability to be present at *Freedom's* 25th anniversary. I do not often light upon *Freedom*, but when I do, I never fail to find it a case of *Lux in Tenebris*. We Anarchists may seem a "feeble folk" to believers in the Coercive State; but that the Voluntary Commune is the goal of Humanity I have no doubt whatever. If we Occidentals cannot attain it, John Chinaman *will*. Good luck to him! Long live Anarchy! Long live the Commune!—Ever faithfully yours in the Cause,

J. Morrison Davidson.

Our congratulations on the 25th anniversary of the existence of *Freedom*. Pursuing the same ideals and aims, your fights and your success find a hearty response in our circles. We feel one with you, we are one in the international spirit of Anarchism; no difference of language, no frontiers erected by Governments can divide us. Hoping to see *Freedom* continue its career as a champion of Anarchism, we send you, dear comrades, our brotherly greetings of solidarity. Paul Alisch.

Der Freie Arbeiter, Berlin.

To-day we are reminded that it is 25 years since *Freedom* appeared for the first time in the arena. We wish to congratulate you on this anniversary of the fight for our great cause of Anarchism and liberty. In this spirit we offer you our hands across the Channel, and wish that you may for a long time continue the work of revolutionising public opinion. Long live international brotherhood and Anarchism!

Fraternal greetings of the editors and publishers of the *Anarchist*.

Leipzig. Arthur Holke.

The *Socialist* publishing group sends you hearty greetings on the 25th anniversary of your paper. To read *Freedom*, with its energetic, strong, and sincere language, has always done us good, as freedom ought to do. You have stood alone sometimes, as do all those who speak the truth; you have refused to please demagogues and the passing moods of the masses; your journal has been always an organ of discussion, and therefore of liberty of thought; you never failed to welcome revolutionary initiative of the people and rebellious acts of individuals, or to protest against the oppression of Governments.

Our group has often brought before the German Anarchists articles from *Freedom*, and we hope often to do so in the future. No thanks we offer you, but our sincere fraternal feelings now and always.

Berlin. Socialist Union ("Group Labour").

To the anniversary of your paper *Freedom* the business committee of the German Anarchist Federation sends you in brotherly solidarity their sincere congratulations. We hope that brave champion, *Freedom*, will serve yet a long time in the cause of Anarchist Communism. In the conviction that victory will follow on the days of fight, fraternal greetings.

Berlin. Paul Nicolaus.

For the Anarchist Federation of Germany.

Quite unawares, it dawned upon us that *Freedom*, our valiant and truly international organ of Communist Anarchism, has grown to be 25 years old. Usually, anniversaries don't mean a great deal. But in this case there is a great difference. The 25th anniversary of *Freedom* means a distinct mark of growth in the history of our ideal thought and of the whole international movement. The undersigned therefore congratulates all our old, venerable, and energetic younger comrades in England on this highly inspiring historic moment in the development of our indefatigable *Freedom*. The sincerest greetings of all our groups at Vienna, and mainly of the publishing group of our organ *Wohlstand für Alle*, and our intellectual propaganda circle, the Ferrer Association, are hereby conveyed to you.

Let us hope that when another 25 years have passed *Freedom* will live to stand on the boundary line of the Social Revolution for the realisation of our great and ever true principles. Hail to *Freedom* as one of the staunchest champions! With fraternal love to all of you, I am sincerely,

Vienna. Pierre Ramus.

Please accept our heartiest and sincerest wishes in connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Freedom*. It is only those who are intimately connected with the publication of an Anarchist journal, those who have personally passed through all the difficulties and anxieties, through all the bitter days of struggle and disappointed hopes, who will be able to value at their highest the enormous amount of energy, enthusiasm, and devotion that is given for a great ideal.

Freedom does not possess that famous political adaptability by which one is ready to sell, for the sake of a momentary success and for the price of a mess of pottage, one's ideals, principles, and convictions. But *Freedom* has on its side the undeniable pride of knowing that it was, in this country, the most devoted, and for many a year the only standard-bearer of the Social Revolution and Libertarian Socialism. Let *Freedom* continue its noble and indispensable work as a true and trusted pioneer of Communism and Anarchy. With fraternal greetings,

London, E. "Workers' Friend" Group.

Twenty-five years of existence for a revolutionary paper represent a pretty good sum of efforts and devotion, especially in a country where the narrow Corporativism of the Trade Unions in economic matters, and Imperialism in politics, seemed to have absorbed all aspirations.

Arbitrariness and the abuse of power may stimulate energy; but to struggle against indifference requires even more energy and perseverance. But England is changing. The adherents of the Trade Unions seem to have had enough of being good sheep obedient to their shepherds. A wider spirit seems to pervade them.

For a long time you have been alone in sowing the revolutionary idea. Now you see it germinating on all sides. No matter if the papers representing it are short-living. They still show the growth of the movement. This is the reward of your efforts.

Sometimes, in reading the speeches of your Chancellor of the Exchequer I find our ideas in them, and sometimes even our arguments. Little value must be attached to the speeches of a politician. Still, they become significant when falling from the lips of a politician in power. It would be foolish to see in Lloyd George a precursor of the Social Revolution. But when a politician is compelled to pay attention to certain economic questions, it proves that they have already emerged from the domain of speculation, enough to be imposed upon public opinion.

We know that no value can be attached to the solutions of economic questions given by the politicians. But once the working men understand that they must have confidence only in their own action, they *will* find it in themselves. And here opens for you a new and a wide field of activity; and having surveyed the route you have covered, you will have enough forces to work with redoubled energy. A greeting to all. J. Grave.

We hoped to be with you to-night, but find it impossible. Congratulations on 25th anniversary. Best wishes for future. Greetings to all.

Charlotte and Frederic Charles.

Congratulations and long life to *Freedom*. But what about the weekly?

Bristol.